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ABSTRACT

Schools serve as agents of socialization, that help adolescents to become self-governing adults. In addition to the school's academic program, cocurricular activities function as mechanisms for attaining necessary goals of student development, such as self-esteem, interpersonal skills, and leadership. This document presents the rationale for including cocurricular activities in a school curriculum and reviews research on the impact of such programs on student academic success. Information is provided on their role in student development, the characteristics of participating and nonparticipating students, effects on students beyond graduation from high school, students' reasons for participation, the various types of activities, the roles of administrators and parents, and costs. In summary, participation in cocurricular activities relates to a number of desirable characteristics, including self-esteem, educational aspirations, feelings of control, and lower levels of alienation. One clear need is for research that systematically examines the relationships of participation in different types of activities. Participants who devoted about seven and one-half hours per week (the average amount of time spent in cocurricular activities) fared well academically, spent more time on homework, and expected to go further in school. Contains 69 references. (LMI)

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Student Activities

THE THIRD CURRICULUM

BY

Edward J. Klesse

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NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF SECONDARY SCHOOL PRINCIPALS
DIVISION OF STUDENT ACTIVITIES

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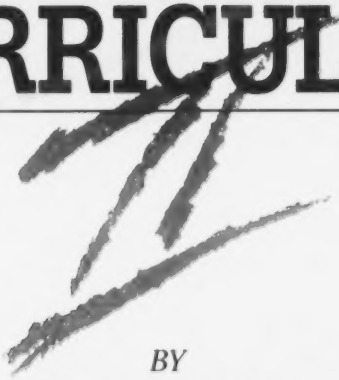

BY

Edward J. Klesse

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Foreword

Most American high schools exist to serve a diverse population of students. Berzonsky (1981) stated that schools serve as one component in the way our society socializes adolescents and helps them accomplish the developmental tasks of adolescence. Schools help to construct self-governing adults (Holland and Andre, 1987). Development of a self-governing adult encompassses several goals. The academic program of the school serves some of these developmental goals (Holland and Andre, 1987). However, the school must provide far more than the academic development of adolescents, and cocurricular activities are a mechanism for accomplishing necessary developmental goals.

Why Student Activities?

Not only do students who participate in cocurricular activities do better academically, but they also develop other facets of their personalities in the process. Self-esteem, self-confidence, social cooperation, and leadership skills are just a few of the cognitive factors that are affected. Cocurricular activities allow students to blend various aspects of their academic learning into personal actions (Allison, 1979).

The original purpose of student activities was to give students an opportunity to blend the various aspects of their academic learning with personal action. Life has no academic majors, yet we exist in an intellectually integrated society and we teach in segmented academic divisions. Student activities offer young people a place to try out their academic skills in an eclectic, community-like environment. Here is the making of values and personalities that no single classroom can ever offer. Cocurricular activities offer active and real challenges. In cocurricular activities, students have decisions to make and problems to solve that involve the real possibility of success or failure. Although sporadically reappraised, student cocurricular activities have played a critical role in civic and social education in the American high school for more than 60 years.

Consider any list of what industry wants in new employees, besides positive attendance records and high academic averages in core courses. The list always includes people skills, the ability to accept responsibility and follow directions, good presentation of self, and high personal ideals. These are marketable skills, skills that are cultivated through cocurricular participation. In a recent *USA Today* article, Tom Tarantella of Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute in Troy, N.Y. stated "grades are still very, very important in getting students a shot at a job interview." But in a survey of 113 corporate recruiters last fall, grades were near the bottom of the list of skills recruiters consider most important in their final hiring decisions. Instead, employers were most interested in things like interpersonal skills, ability to solve problems, communication skills, technical knowledge, energy level, and judgment (*USA Today*, 1993). A review of the literature supports the belief that

there is a definite link between cocurricular participation and high school success, success in college, and future success in careers and the community.

Success and Student Activities

Research studies have consistently shown that participation in student activities is beneficial to students (Christensen, 1984). Success in college (achievement) can be more accurately predicted from levels of individual achievement in such activities as debate, speech, drama, and journalism, than it can from any or all of the following:

1. Grades in high school
2. Class rank
3. ACT or SAT scores
4. Grades in college

Similarly, studies of school dropouts have consistently shown that students who leave school prior to graduation are students who are unlikely to participate in student activities. In short, cocurricular activities play a vital role on campus—they improve school climate, they teach valuable lessons in leadership, and they serve as a creative outlet that cannot be attained inside the classroom.

In the continuing controversy in this country regarding the "back to basics" movement, one area of concern for many has been the place of cocurricular activities in the public school curriculum. Some proponents of educational reform argue that non-classroom activities compete with academic learning for the student's time and attention. A descriptive study involving a national sample of high school students conducted by the Office of Educational Research and Improvement reported that cocurricular activity participants had achieved higher grade point averages than had nonparticipants. A positive relationship was also found between level of participation in student organizations and grade point averages (Camp, 1990). Participation in school, church, and community student activities were all related positively with high school grades.

Questions regarding the efficacy and legitimacy of cocurricular activities in the schools are not new. Cocurricular activities for public school students were not generally accepted by educational leaders prior to 1900. Between then and about 1920, such activities became at least passively accepted as a result of a powerful educational reform movement. That reform movement was epitomized by the report of the Presidential Commission to Study the Reorganization of Secondary Schools, which enumerated the "Seven Cardinal Principles" of secondary education (Camp, 1990). The cardinal principles mentioned the worthy use of leisure time, citizenship, ethical character, and health. Proponents argued that the development of those attributes is encouraged and facilitated by participation in cocurricular activities. Yet, it was not until well into the 20th century that cocurricular activities began to be actively encouraged by educational leaders.

The casual ordering of student participation and academic achievement logically could be argued either way. On the one hand, students with better grades are more likely to participate and take leadership roles in cocurricular activities. In fact, some organizations predicate membership on academic achievement. On the other hand, one can argue that students who participate enjoy their school experiences more and will be motivated to exert extra effort in earning better grades. A recent study to determine if there is a correlation between participation in the cocurricular program and student success as evaluated by grade point averages found a positive relationship (Neish, 1993). In general, students who are involved in the cocurricular activities program attain a higher average GPA than those students who have not gotten involved in those programs. A positive correlation also existed between the level of involvement (high, medium, or low) and the students' GPA. The conclusion of this study was that "although it cannot be concluded that participation in the activities program . . . will guarantee academic success, it is apparent that these programs attract many bright, motivated students. The critics of the activities program who argue that these programs damage student academic achievement will find nothing in the data to support their point of view" (Neish, 1993). This finding supports Camp's research, which found that rather than being detrimental to academic achievement,

participation in cocurricular activities has a positive relationship to grades (Camp, 1990).

Participants vs. Non-Participants

Certainly, participation in cocurricular activities does not guarantee improved performance as a student. What is clear, however, is that cocurricular activities are attracting many bright, high performing students (Sweet, 1986). Most cocurricular activity participants tend to make good grades. Maintenance of at least a "C" average (2.0 GPA) appears to be the common thread among the new academic standards schools are requiring or considering requiring for participation in cocurricular activities. However, the impact on participation rates is much greater for some groups of students than for others. The situation for participants in varsity athletics is probably typical:

- Overall, nearly seven of eight varsity athletes meet or exceed the 2.0 GPA requirement.
- A larger percentage of female than male varsity athletes meet the requirement.
- White students of high and medium socioeconomic status and academic program students meet the requirements at high rates.
- The group hardest hit by the requirement are black and Hispanic athletes. However, about two-thirds of the black and Hispanic male varsity athletes meet the requirement (Sweet, 1986).

Given these data—coupled with the high degree of visibility of certain cocurricular activities and the strong emotional support they enjoy—it is understandable that the move toward a 2.0 GPA requirement frequently generates intense and spirited debate among students, parents, coaches, teachers, and administrators.

Students believe that they gain immediate and long-term personal benefits from their participation in the cocurricular activity program. Parents are committed to the same belief. In 1974, an ACT report stated that "studies show high school nonacademic accomplishments to be independent of academic talent, and to be related to similar kinds of college nonacademic accomplishments" (Gholson, 1985). The re-

search further concluded that adult accomplishments were related to comparable high school nonacademic accomplishments. Those organizations and activities that have historically been considered "cocurricular" appear to have significant and lasting value as one moves beyond the formal classroom. Cocurricular activity programs represent a significant and critical area of the contemporary comprehensive secondary school.

Cocurricular participation is associated with positive school outcomes. The more extensive a student's participation—in terms of number of hours, number of activities, or number of types of activities (sports, performing, leadership, clubs, and interest groups)—the more time was devoted to homework and the higher was the student's GPA (Brown and Steinberg, 1991). However, the degree of academic advantage that cocurricular participants enjoyed depended on the type of activity in which they were involved. Those who concentrated on "glory" sports (football, basketball, baseball) or performing activities had a significantly lower academic record than those who concentrated on leadership activities or clubs and interest groups (Brown and Steinberg, 1991). Sweet (1986) also reported that students who ranked high on four related performance measures (course credits, hours of homework, test scores, and grade average) tended to be more involved in cocurricular activities. In fact, the more activities students were involved in, the higher they ranked.

The longitudinal study, "High School and Beyond," conducted by the Center for Statistics, indicates that almost 80 percent of 1982 senior high school students reported taking part in at least 1 of 11 cocurricular activities. More than half participated in at least 2 activities and one-third took part in at least 3 activities (Sweet, 1986). Seniors attending small schools participated in most activities at higher rates than those attending large schools—45 percent vs. 30 percent for varsity sports and 29 percent vs. 13 percent for journalistic activities.

Generally, there is a positive direct effect of participation in cocurricular activities on academic achievement, with other influential variables statistically controlled. In particular, participation in no cocurricular activities is definitely a factor detrimental to school success. However, participation in community activities exerts a modest, but still significant, negative effect on achievement. A speculative expla-

nation is that participation in community activities may serve to disengage students from an academic focus. Cocurricular participation in some forms can enhance student achievement across all categories of school and size.

Self-concept refers to the complex set of beliefs one has about oneself; one aspect, usually called self-esteem, is the value or sense of worth one perceives about oneself. What is the relationship between participation in cocurricular activities and self-esteem? For boys, across all activities, a significant positive relationship was found between cocurricular activity participation and self-esteem scores. No significant relationship was found for girls (Holland and Andre, 1987). Where categories of activities were considered separately, participation in music related positively to self-esteem for both sexes. Male first-string athletes had higher average self-esteem than second-string athletes and non-athletes. Activities that lead to publicity, such as boys' athletic and music activities, were likely to increase self-esteem scores. In a 1981 study, Grabe found that participation is also more predictive of self-esteem in small schools than in large schools, and small school students have the greatest variability in self-esteem scores (Holland and Andre, 1987). Students in smaller schools perceive a greater pressure to participate and achieve success in cocurricular activities. However, pressure and failure in cocurricular activities leads to reduced self-esteem and increased alienation. Participation in cocurricular activities correlates with more positive multicultural relations, as well as more positive school attitudes, more personal student-teacher contact, and more parent-school contact. Higher levels of participation also correlate with general school effectiveness (Holland and Andre, 1987). Sport activities that promote multicultural student interactions are related to positive cultural attitudes and behavior. Scott and Damico (1983) found that students perceive cocurricular activities as their main source of multicultural contact (Holland and Andre, 1987)

Participation in athletic or service activities has been significantly related to lower incidences of student delinquent acts (Schafer, 1969). High school cocurricular activity participation also has been found to relate positively to involvement in political activities two years after leaving high school. The relationship held even when class background, ability, academic performance, and self-esteem were held constant.

Cocurricular activity participation also has a strong relationship to young adult social participation (professional, union, youth, religous, political, community, etc.) five years after high school (Lindsay, 1984). This relationship was stronger than educational attainment and sociability, the next strongest predictors.

Generally, there is a positive relationship between cocurricular activity participation and increased educational aspirations and attainment. Type of activity, however, does seem to moderate this relationship. Rehberg and Schafer (1968) reported a positive relationship between male athletic participation and plans to attend college (Holland and Andre, 1987). For males not otherwise disposed toward college (low SES, low academic standing, and little parental encouragement), the relationship was strongest. In schools in which athletes were highly rewarded and valued, the relationship between participation and aspiration was strong. Spady (1971) found that participants in service leadership activities were also likely to have college aspiration, while nonparticipants in any activities were less likely to have college aspirations (Holland and Andre, 1987). Participants in no cocurricular activities were substantially less likely than the typical student to achieve goals.

Most previous research has treated participation as if involvement in a given activity has the same effects on all participants. However, the limited available research indicates that the degree of involvement is an important mediator of the relationships of participation to developmental variables. Stars were more likely (95%) than starters (91%) or substitutes (80%) to attend college. Coaches gave advice about attending college more often to stars (75%) than to starters (48%) or substitutes (26%). Stars perceived their coaches to be a "great" influence on them more often (79%) than did starters (51%) or substitutes (31%) (Holland and Andre, 1987). First string male athletes were often found to have significantly higher self-esteem than second string athletes. In a related finding, boys who participated in both athletic and service activities had the highest educational aspirations and attainments compared to boys who only participated in one type of activity. These studies, involving both athletic and nonathletic activities, suggest that the degree of involvement in cocurricular activities is significantly correlated with positive personality-social characteristics among secondary school students (Holland and Andre, 1987).

Small, rural communities place greater value on and are more supportive of their high school athletic teams than were larger communities. In rural schools, Barker and Hall (1964) reported that the typical student participates in more than twice as many activities as students in larger schools (Holland and Andre, 1987). To a certain degree, as schools get larger, proportionally fewer students can be directly involved in cocurricular activities. In small schools, individuals had to participate in several activities in order to maintain the activity. In these schools, Wicker (1968) found that participants report feeling needed and challenged, having important jobs, and developing self-confidence (Holland and Andre, 1987). In small schools more than in large schools, students at risk of dropping out were more likely to be involved in school activities and were more integrated into the social activities of the school.

In a 1976 study, Otto indicated that socioeconomic status also relates positively with cocurricular activity participation (Holland and Andre, 1987). However, the single greatest correlation with participation for both males and females is with grades. Participants are likely to be those who previously had good grades, were enrolled in an academic curriculum, had college-oriented friends, and had contacts with their teachers.

The available research indicates that participation in cocurricular activities is positively correlated with desirable personal/social characteristics. Crain, Mahard, and Narat (1982) found that participation in cocurricular activities is associated with higher levels of self-esteem (Holland and Andre, 1987). Participation has also been correlated with improved multicultural relations, involvement in political and social activities as a young adult (Hanks, 1981), and lower delinquency rates (Landers and Landers, 1978). However, participants and nonparticipants select themselves into or out of cocurricular activities. Pre-existing personality and social differences between participants and nonparticipants may account for the observed correlations (Holland and Andre, 1987). The available research has not demonstrated convincingly that participation causes such desirable outcomes. However, participation in cocurricular activities may lead adolescents to acquire new skills (organizational, planning, time-management, etc.), to develop or strengthen particular attitudes (discipline, motivation), or to receive

social rewards that influence personality characteristics (Holland and Andre, 1987). The previously available literature only hints that participation leads to such effects. Additional research is needed to substantially demonstrate a causal sequence between participation and desirable outcomes.

The most serious methodological problem in this area of research involves the self-selection of students into participant and nonparticipant groups. Self-selection is a necessary condition of these studies because, by its very nature, participation in cocurricular activities is voluntary. The danger of self-selection is that pre-existing differences between groups of students who choose or do not choose to participate, rather than the influence of participation, may account for the observed differences between participation and nonparticipation groups (Holland and Andre, 1987). Also, variables that have been shown to interact with participation and outcome measures include family SES, extent of cocurricular participation, degree of success in cocurricular activities, self-esteem, self-perceived peer status, and significant other influences. These "moderator variables" interact with the outcome variables in an amount and direction that is unclear. However, it is clear that participation in cocurricular activities relates to a number of desirable characteristics, for example: self-esteem, educational aspirations, feelings of control, and lower levels of alienation. What is not clear is the extent to which participation contributes to such characteristics.

Activities at Other Levels

Cocurricular activities that "represent a rich array of opportunities and experiences," may be one of the reasons many students stay in school, and/or find personal meaning for this time in their lives (Haensly, Lupkowsky, and Edlind, 1986). Students are able to extend and enrich previously learned academic skills through competitions and by applying skills to real world simulations. In the cocurricular setting, they may also develop and practice artistic, musical, and psychomotor talents; leadership skills; and future career and occupational skills. Interpersonal and social strategies—proficiencies not considered basic ele-

ments of the academic curriculum—may especially be constructed through participation in cocurricular activities. Maintaining one's individuality in a group, practicing appropriate adult behavior in different settings, and understanding and coping with peer pressure all contribute to the developmental tasks that adolescents must accomplish in order to move effectively from childhood to adulthood. Participation is particularly effective in providing a healthy setting for the task of forming new and more mature relationships with age mates of both sexes, achieving an appropriate social role, accepting oneself, and acquiring a set of ethics as a guide to behavior. Cocurricular activities provide a setting for developing social literacy or the ability to communicate through many means, and through communication, learn essential social and civic responsibilities. (Haensly, Lupkowsky, and Edlind, 1986). Adolescents will socialize with their peers—whether as part of a well-planned school cocurricular program or in an autonomous peer society—and through this socialization will enhance self-concept or disrupt it, learn what to choose and what not to choose, attain successes and achievement or failures, and most important, experience affiliation or social isolation.

It was not solely high school students who are affected by cocurricular activities. Students in junior high school who are involved in activities also realized a benefit in cocurricular participation, as seen in Parish's (1984) study. The purpose of this study was to determine the relationship of participation in junior high school cocurricular activities to academic performance and educational aspirations, and whether these relationships varied according to participants' socioeconomic status (SES), gender, ethnicity, or intelligence quotient (IQ). The subjects were a random sample of 501 eighth graders from seven junior high schools of a west Texas school district.

Parish concluded that participation in cocurricular activities was associated with high GPA and high educational aspirations. These associations were relatively weak, but statistically significant. The pattern of relationships varied according to the participants' gender, ethnicity, SES, and IQ. There was no evidence that cocurricular participation was associated with lower GPA or lower educational aspirations for any group.

Students at the middle level are more likely to be involved in a wider range of cocurricular activities than were high school students. In a statewide investigation of the relationship of school organizations, cocurricular activities, academic achievement, and attitude towards self and school of ninth grade students yielded the following results. First, ninth grade students in middle level schools participated in more co-curricular activities than did those in senior high schools. Second, ninth grade students in the middle level schools had a more favorable composite score on a survey of pupil opinion (Gifford and Dean, 1990). These variables were considered in the composite score: cocurricular activities, academic achievement, and attitudes toward self and school.

A properly designed middle level activities program can help to ensure academic achievement. The key is providing a diversity of opportunities that allow all students to experience success. The first ingredient of a good middle level cocurricular program is a structure that serves as a coordinating link between academics and the entire cocurricular program, including athletics. The linchpin should be student government. An effective student government sets the tone for student involvement and establishes the climate for all the other cocurricular activities, creating the spirit and tone of the school (Hovland, 1990). It is essential that the athletic program in a middle level school be based on the same philosophy that governs academics and non-athletic activities. The goals of the athletic program should be consistent with those of all cocurricular activities; that every student must be given the opportunity to realize his or her maximum potential. A strong case can also be made that middle level athletic programs should not involve interscholastic competition, but rather be based on 100 percent participation in intramurals. The following are 10 criteria for an effective middle level athletic program:

1. Total participation—no cuts, and everyone should play an equal amount.
2. No emphasis on winning—participants should be taught the value and fun of participation.
3. Administrative and staff encouragement to participate—parents and staff should encourage students to participate in all cocurricular activities.

4. Short athletic seasons that provide several choices—a menu of athletic activities each quarter.
5. No community "all star" teams—most 12 to 15-year-olds are neither physically nor mentally ready for this competition.
6. No tournaments or post-season play—it elevates the importance of competitive athletics.
7. Organize athletic teams so that no one will dominate—do nothing to discourage participation.
8. Train coaches in the middle level philosophy—the school's philosophy must be clearly stated and communicated.
9. Recognition for all participants—every opportunity should be utilized to encourage students to be involved beyond the classroom.
10. Provide opportunities to participate in a range of activities—help develop special talents in all areas—not just sports (Hovland, 1990).

Social Development

The cocurriculum contains many activities that round out the product of the traditional school, and many times these areas of knowledge and these stores of information find practical use. The assumption of responsibility is made a worthwhile aim; in the cocurriculum is to be found no end of occasions and opportunities for such action. Social cooperation is fostered in the many activities that make up the cocurriculum.

Development of desirable social attitudes and cooperation through participation in student activities was also reported by Gholson and Buser (1983). One of the objectives of cocurricular activities is to help educate young people for citizenship through experiences and insights that stress leadership, fellowship, cooperation, and independent action. In a 1973 study of 2,000 Illinois secondary school students, 49 percent stated that one reason for participating in student activity programs was "to develop leadership activities" (tied for seventh place).

In a 1975 study of 2,500 students from throughout the United States, 91 percent stated that one reason for participating in student activity programs was "to develop leadership activities" (sixth most frequently stated reason).

The development of desirable social attitudes on the part of individuals and groups represents another basic principle of cocurricular activity programs. Cooperation and understanding among social, racial, and ethnic groups in the student body as well as in out-of-school life is another worthwhile characteristic of the activity program. A most basic expectation of the activity program is the degree to which students share responsibility for selecting, organizing, and evaluating the program and its outcomes. Finally, the development of democratic and cooperative values is a primary principle of the cocurricular program.

In a study of 17-year-old male high school students, participation in high school cocurricular activities was significantly related to later educational achievements. Fifteen years after graduation, those students involved in high school cocurricular activities were more likely to have gone to college (Haensly, Lupkowsky, and Edlind, 1986). Also, studies have found a significant difference between high school dropouts and non-dropouts in the number of cocurricular activities and leadership roles taken on while in high school. The lack of participation in school activities was a significant characteristic of the high school dropout. In addition, researchers have found that involvement in high school activities is positively related to self-concept (Haensly, Lupkowsky, and Edlind, 1986).

When examining the difference in the type of activities participated in by high achieving versus low achieving students, certain trends result. While only 4 percent of high achieving students reported no participation in cocurricular activities, 19 percent of low achieving students reported no participation. High achieving students also participated in a greater quantity of activities, with 36 percent reporting more than 10 activities, while only 6 percent of the low achieving students reported that many (Haensly, Lupkowsky, and Edlind, 1986). In each type of activity, with the exception of career activities, a greater percentage of low achieving students reported no participation than did high achieving students. Extensive participation in cocurricular activities appears to be more characteristic of the high achieving students

than of the lower achieving ones. At the same time, both groups reported participation in a variety of activities.

For the high achieving students, the list of benefits received from participation in cocurricular activities included (in order of frequency): meeting other people; increasing responsibility; making school more enjoyable; developing leadership abilities; broadening interests ("became more well-rounded"); developing self-confidence ("became more outgoing"); preparing for a career; enhancing time management; and; maintaining physical condition or health ("keeping in shape") (Haensly, Lupkowsky, and Edlind, 1986). The ranked list of most frequently mentioned benefits for the low achieving students was similar: meeting other people; having a learning experience; preparing for a career; making school more enjoyable; increasing responsibility; developing a greater involvement in school; becoming more outgoing; developing leadership abilities; and increasing self-discipline.

When comparing the two groups, career preparation was more important to lower achieving students, while leadership and responsibility were not as vital. Learning experiences, involvement, and self-discipline were also considered benefits by these students, while the higher achieving students rarely mentioned them. Time management, keeping in shape, and becoming more well-rounded were considered more important to the high achieving students. It also should be noted that the responses indicated that very few students regarded participation in cocurricular activities as a hindrance. In addition, students' comments about benefits of the cocurriculum repeatedly support the idea that the latter adds "zest" to academic studies, creating a necessary balance between work and play. The developmental task of moving toward emotional, social, and economic independence from the family doesn't take place in the academic curriculum—it takes place in socialization within the peer group. Students realize that this type of socialization can and does occur in the cocurricular activities of the secondary school.

What Do Students Say?

Students perceive participation in cocurricular activities as essential in developing skills that would assist them beyond high school. This was shown in Baker's (1985) study, in which principals from 500 high schools in the United States and Canada were asked to choose five students who were very active in student activities. The students were asked to complete a survey relating to the benefits of student activity participation. Approximately 1,400 student surveys were returned from 300 schools. More than 90 percent of the students reported being involved in student council or student/class government. Almost as many participated in athletics or an athletic-related club such as pep or spirit club, cheerleading, and pom-pom. Nearly 60 percent of the students were involved in a fine arts activity, including music, art, theater and drama, debate and forensics. More than 50 percent of the students were involved in academic or subject-related clubs such as math and science clubs, foreign language clubs, and vocational clubs. Social, service, and special interest clubs had the least reported membership, with about 40 percent participation.

Eighty percent of the students indicated that they had held leadership positions in their student council, student government, or in their class; 60 percent reported that they had held leadership positions on athletic teams or in athletics-related organizations. Approximately 45 percent of the students who participated in subject-related clubs or on publications staffs had held leadership positions.

Students were asked to respond on a five-point scale as to what extent participation in student activities had helped them to develop the qualities that have been determined to be essential to effective leadership, and that could be used in life beyond high school. The qualities and the results are listed on the following pages.

Self-Development

Develop my emotional well-being

Develop my physical health

Accept responsibility for my activities

Gain confidence in my own abilities

Accept criticism from faculty members and peers

Cope more effectively with stressful situations

Not at all	0.2 percent
Somewhat	70.0 percent
Greatly	29.9 percent

Interpersonal skills

Communicate more effectively with others

Work more effectively with others in completing tasks

Recognize and reinforce the contributions of others

Accept compliments with a thank-you

Not at all	0.3 percent
Somewhat	57.9 percent
Greatly	41.7 percent

Organizational skills

Improve my problem-solving skills

Plan and organize more effectively

Plan and conduct meetings

Understand and utilize parliamentary procedure

Delegate duties and responsibility to others

Not at all	0.7 percent
Somewhat	80.4 percent
Greatly	18.4 percent

Leadership skills

Set goals and follow through with them

Improve leadership skills

Take identified risks in order to achieve an important goal

Evaluate activities and projects more effectively

Take initiative to begin and complete a task

Manage time more wisely

Not at all	0.3 percent
Somewhat	66.7 percent
Greatly	33.0 percent

Preparation for life skills

For life as a good citizen because of my involvement in

For work and career after graduation because of my involvement in

To meet the challenges of higher education because of my involvement in

For wise use of leisure time by

For leadership roles after graduation

I believe that I am learning to demonstrate the values of honesty, courtesy, respect, and fair play because of my involvement in

Classes	0.2 percent
Mostly classes	4.2 percent
Classes & activities	84.6 percent
Mostly activities	10.6 percent
Activities only	0.3 percent

(Baker 1985)

Adolescents need to come face to face with reality. The classroom is not the place to learn decision making, and it is not the place to learn interpersonal communication skills. But, if we expect a functional future generation, these skills need to be part of the curriculum. In classrooms, we prepare passively for action in the future, even though most life skills are best learned by direct action and experiencing the consequences (Cutler, 1989). Schools can be a place that emphasizes participation. Cocurricular activities promote action, not merely passive "textbook" learning.

Beyond High School

Cocurricular activities further the total development of all students who participate in them. Depending on your perspective, participation in cocurricular activities may direct attention from academic pursuits; have little or no effect on academic outcomes, but contribute to desirable nonacademic outcomes; or have positive effects on nonacademic outcomes and facilitate academic growth—perhaps indirectly—as well (Marsh, 1988). Participation in cocurricular activities is defined by self-selection and so it is difficult to separate true effects from pre-existing differences in students who participate in the activities. However, several studies have found a relationship between cocurricular participation in high school and educational and occupational attainment.

Holland and Andre (1987) concluded that some of the research has indicated that, in males, participation does have relationships with the outcome variable of educational attainment that are independent of moderator variables (Marsh, 1988). Another study by Otto (1982) noted that cocurricular activity participation had a positive effect on education, occupation, and income 15 years after high school even after controlling socioeconomic status, measured intelligence, academic performance, educational and occupational aspirations, and personal adjustment measured in the senior year of high school (Marsh, 1988). Similar results were obtained by Hanks and Eckland (1976), who found that participation in cocurricular activities other than athletics was positively related to educational attainment after controlling for

socioeconomic status, standardized test scores, school grades, and educational aspirations (Marsh, 1988).

In a related study by Spady (1970), boys from two high schools were asked to provide data during their senior year of high school and again four years later (Marsh, 1988). Participation in sports and other activities were related to educational aspirations and attainment. Students who participated in both sports and other activities had higher educational aspirations and subsequent attainment. However, students who participated in athletics only, and had high educational aspirations were less likely to satisfy their goals, particularly if their self-perceived status was higher than their actual status as judged by their peers. In a similar study, Spady (1971) expanded the categories of cocurricular activities to include leadership, sports, social, performing arts, and none (no activities). He examined the variables of educational aspirations, attending more than one year of college, and the difference between aspirations and attainment (Marsh, 1988). Although the results differed somewhat, depending on the particular outcome, all cocurricular activities were associated with more positive outcomes than no activities. Leadership activities were also associated with more positive benefits than the other activities. Spady (1971) concluded that cocurricular activities "not only provide participants with varying degrees of status and prestige, they also facilitate the development of skills and attitudes that serve as resources in students' quests for future success" (Marsh, 1988).

Cocurricular participation is also a factor in college success. College admissions officers can improve their chances of recruiting students who will succeed at their institutions by selecting applicants whose high school records show "persistent and successful cocurricular accomplishments." Students with such records in high school often demonstrated both strong campus leadership and significant individual accomplishments in college. Academic success in college, however, was still best predicted by class rank in high school and by admissions test scores. The findings were based on a survey of 3,676 members of the 1983 graduating class at nine private colleges. The study also found that a student's cocurricular record, no matter how strong, did not outweigh academic performance in predicting success in college. Academic skill was best predicted by examining six measures

of high school performance: class rank, SAT scores, honors, cocurricular involvement, school references, and the quality of the applicant's essay.

The long-term effects of student participation were seen in the eventual benefits that the community reaps. Lindsay (1984) made the point that students who participated in high school were more likely to become involved in volunteerism and have a broader base of social activities as young adults.

To what extent does education affect not only short-term academic achievement, but long-term adult behavior? What influence does the process of cocurricular participation of high school seniors have on their social participation later as young adults?

A 1972 sample of seniors in public and private high schools in the 50 states and District of Columbia, stratified to represent various geographic regions, the degree of urbanization, income levels, school size, types of control (public and private), and ethnic backgrounds was used in this study. The respondents were surveyed again in 1973, 1974, 1976, and 1979.

The central hypothesis of the study—that higher participation in school activities is associated with high participation in voluntary social activities as young adults—was confirmed and found to be a somewhat more powerful influence than the next most important determinant of young adult participation, educational attainment. In short, students who participate in cocurricular activities during high school are more likely to participate in a broad range of social activities as young adults.

Leadership within the community was also affected, according to Marks (1958). The problem of this study was stated in the form of a question: "What is the relationship of leadership roles occupied in high school to leadership roles occupied during the first 10 postgraduate years and what are the possible implications for the improvement of education for leadership?" A study was made of the files of 100 students who had been elected to the most important offices in Highland Park High School, Tex., and North Dallas High School, Tex. To deserve the title of high school leader the student must have held a minimum of three important elective offices.

Leaders were found to be superior to non-leaders in academic achievement. They also received a greater number of advanced or professional college degrees. (The number of leaders and non-leaders employed while attending high school and college was about evenly divided.) Leaders occupied many more college and community leadership roles.

The study concluded that since leaders did hold more community leadership offices than did non-leaders, there is a relationship between leadership experiences in high school and leadership participation.

The results of the above studies provide clear support for the benefits of participation in cocurricular activities, but with a few qualifications. First, a study by Marsh (1988) found that participation in cocurricular activities beyond an optimum level may have diminishing returns. This optimum level was, however, always well above the average participation level so it is only at extreme levels of participation that diminishing returns occur. Second, the benefits associated with different activities varied substantially. A few activities (e.g. sports, honor societies, school publications, student government, service organizations, and church organizations) had only positive effects on a variety of outcomes, but some other activities had little systematic effect or systematically negative effects (fraternity or sorority). Third, for some senior and postsecondary outcomes, students from lower SES backgrounds apparently derived more benefits from participation than students from middle and/or higher SES backgrounds (Marsh, 1988).

What Does the Community Say?

Cocurricular activities are a drawing card, engaging the public with the schools much more successfully than school board meetings, newsletters, and open houses ever could. Schools are in the business of educating the "whole" child and have an obligation to provide opportunities for young people to develop such attitudes as diligence and a respect for teamwork. Schools and society continue to blur the distinction between what is education and what is not. In a 1984 student

survey, more than 80 percent of those surveyed reported that they had participated in some form of school-related activities within the preceding year, half of them citing athletic programs. Music was the second most popular activity (Lewis, 1989).

The 1986 Gallup Poll asked the following question concerning the importance of cocurricular activities:

I'd like your opinion about cocurricular activities such as the school band, dramatics, sports, and the school newspaper. How important are these to a young person's education—very important, fairly important, not too important, or not at all important:

	(Percent)			
	National	*No children in school*	*Public school parents*	*Non-public school parents*
Very important	39	37	44	57
Fairly important	41	43	37	31
Not too important	14	14	16	10
Not at all important	3	3	2	2
No opinion	3	3	1	*

**Less than 1%*

More than three-quarters of the American public (80%) felt that cocurricular activities are either "very important" or "fairly important" to a young person's education. Comparing the Gallup Polls of 1978, 1984, and 1986 yields the following results to the above question: (How important are these [cocurricular activities] to a young person's education . . .)

	National Totals (Percent)		
	1978	*1984*	*1986*
Very Important	45	31	39
Fairly Important	40	46	41
Not too Important	9	18	14
Not at all Important	4	4	3
No Opinion	2	1	3

About 8 Americans in 10 felt that cocurricular activities were very important to a young person's education—roughly the same percentage as in the two previous surveys (1984 and 1978) that dealt with this topic. Of the 80 percent in 1986 who said that cocurricular activities are important, 39 percent deemed them "very important," and 41 percent deemed them "fairly important."

The 1986 Gallup Poll also asked the following question:

Do you feel that high-school students who participate in sports and extracurricular activities should or should not be required to maintain a minimum grade-point average and school attendance record?

	(Percent)			
	National	*No children in school*	*Public school parents*	*Non-public school parents*
Should	91	90	91	97
Should not	6	6	7	1
Don't know	3	4	2	2

(Gallup, 1986)

Americans were virtually unanimous in supporting a requirement that students who participate in cocurricular activities should maintain passing grades and acceptable school attendance records. Nine respondents in 10 in every population subgroup approved of this idea.

The 23rd Annual Gallup Poll asked the following questions:

continued on the next page

As you are probably aware, many states are having severe budgetary problems. If it becomes necessary to reduce spending for education in this state, would you favor or oppose the following measures in the public schools of this community?

	(Percent)		
	Favor	*Oppose*	*Don't Know*
Elimination of all cocurricular activities	32	62	6
A freeze of all salaries	47	46	7
Reduction in the number of teachers	15	78	7
Reduction in the number of administrators	73	19	8
Reduction in the number of support staff members (e.g., janitors, secretaries, nurses, and counselors)	47	45	8
Increases in class size	21	72	7
Elimination of certain courses	54	34	12

Now, to raise money for education in this state, would you favor or oppose the following measures in the public schools of this community?

	(Percent)		
	Favor	*Oppose*	*Don't Know*
Charging user fees for all cocurricular activities (e.g., sports, music groups, drama, special interest clubs	49	44	7
A 1% state sales tax dedicated specifically to the public schools	55	40	5
A one-half of 1% state income tax dedicated to the public schools	50	44	6
Establishment of local education foundations to attract financial support from private companies and individuals	74	17	9

How much do you know about the local public schools—quite a lot, some, or very little?

	National Totals (Percent)		
	1991	*1983*	*1969*
Quite a lot	22	22	18
Some	47	42	40
Very little	30	29	42
Don't know	*	7	*

**Less than one-half of 1%.*
(Gallup, 1991)

It is important to note that in 1991, 62 percent opposed the elimination of all cocurricular activities if it was necessary to reduce spending for education in their state. Only reducing the number of teachers and increasing class size were opposed in higher percentages. Respondents slightly favored charging user fees for all cocurricular activities to raise money for education in their state. However, the other three alternatives dealing with sales tax, income tax, and establishing a local education foundation, were more favorable alternatives. At the same time, respondents felt that they knew more about the local public schools than in previous surveys. The more that people know about their schools, the more likely they are to support and defend them. Correspondingly, the more interest people have in the schools and the more they participate in school-related activities, the more likely they are to support and defend the schools.

Who Participates?

Publishing a weekly column in the school newspaper involves personal responsibilities and satisfaction that bring lessons of English class to life. Meeting deadlines with an energetic boss who provides enriching work experiences highlights the connection between current school achievement and future career possibilities, a connection that is not readily apparent to many young people. Participants in cocurricular activities are more engaged in school, put more effort into their studies,

get better grades, and expect to go farther in school than nonparticipants (Lamborn et al., 1992). Generally, students who concentrated on glory sports did less well on academic outcomes than those involved in clubs or leadership activities. In part, these differences could be traced to experiences in the different activities—how much the demands of the activity distracted them from studying, how much the activity bolstered the ability to do well academically, etc., and whether coparticipants encouraged or discouraged academic pursuits.

Activities that students participated in were illustrated in "The Mood of American Youth" (NASSP, 1984). School clubs, athletic teams, student government, and musical groups are very popular among students. More than 80 percent of the students surveyed reported that they had participated in some form of school-related activities during the past school year. By far, sports clubs and teams are the cocurricular activities that involve the largest number of students. Nearly half the students reported some involvement with their school's athletic program. Although sports are by far the most popular type of cocurricular activities, organized music pursuits also engage a large number of today's students. The most frequently reported cocurricular activity was membership in a school band or orchestra. A little more than a fifth of the students said they played in school bands and orchestras, and another 17 percent sang in school choirs or choruses.

Why Do Students Participate?

Factors that determined why students participated in activities were investigated by Allen and Gansneder (1976). A sample of principals in all 50 states found that the following elements were most likely to determine the effectiveness of the student activity programs in secondary schools today:

1. Faculty commitment
2. Relevant activities
3. Student interest
4. Financing
5. Administrative support

School-Related Activities

	(Percent)		
Activities	*All*	*Males*	*Female*
1. Athletic Teams/Clubs	48.2	54.3	43.0
2. Band/Orchestra	20.7	20.9	20.4
3. Choir/Choral Groups	17.6	9.1	24.9
4. Career-Oriented Clubs	15.2	10.2	19.5
5. Language Clubs	12.0	8.5	15.0
6. Drama/Theater	11.8	8.0	15.0
7. Pep Club	11.7	6.2	16.4
8. School Publications	11.5	9.6	13.1
9. Student Council/Government	10.6	5.6	15.0
10. Service/Volunteer Groups	10.2	6.2	13.7
11. National Honor Society	7.9	7.8	7.9
12. Other Honorary Societies	6.7	4.7	8.5
13. Debate/Speech	6.6	4.9	8.1
14. Cheerleading	5.8	0.5	10.4
15. Science Clubs	5.2	6.2	4.2
16. None	17.7	20.5	15.2

(NASSP, 1984)

Involvement in student activities may also be affected by the distance students live from school. Some students may live too far away from school to participate in activities. Straley, in his study of transported and non-transported senior high school boys, concluded that transported students seem to be limited (to some extent) in opportunities to participate in cocurricular activities (Buser and Humm, 1980). The degree to which activities are relevant may also affect participation. Students and teachers rated the activity program of their schools as being above average in meeting youth needs pertaining to socialization, mental health, reasoning ability, guidance, and further preparation for future education.

This study found that, in general, students felt their faculty was committed to student activity programs. They thought that although the cost of activities and the distance they lived from school were not a problem for them, these things could be a problem for some students.

They did not disagree with rules for selection of membership but they did feel that students had little power to change activities, that "cliques" in the school affect membership in activities, and that grades should not be a rule for membership in activities.

In a related study, students were asked to select that which was most likely to establish status and acceptance among students. Fifty-six percent of the students indicated "active participation in cocurricular activities" and 19 percent selected "academic success by earning high grades"; 13 percent cited "active involvement in student government"; the remaining 10 percent indicated "having a car to drive to school" (7%), or "being a non-participant in cocurricular activities" (3%).

Some summary items from this study include:

1. There were approximately 300 activity titles reported in the high schools and 200 in the junior high schools in Illinois.
2. *Athletics and sports were by far the most popular cocurricular activities* in both the high schools and middle level schools in both numbers and proportions of students participating.
3. Approximately *one-third of the participants in athletics and sports were female in the high schools,* with somewhat more, 44 percent, in middle level schools.
4. The popularity among the activity categories was similar between the high schools and middle level schools in that the most popular activities were athletically related, followed by music, and class-related clubs. The least popular, as evidenced by enrollments reported, were social-related and hobby/leisure-related activities in the high schools and social and honors-related in middle level schools.
5. Female participation was greater than male in music, class, drama, government, honors, service, cheerleading, publications, and the social-related in both the high schools and middle level schools; the number of males exceeded that of females in the

hobby/leisure-related in both the high schools and middle level schools.

6. Female and male high school students participated in cocurricular activities to about the same extent, although in different areas.
7. The number of high school students who participated in cocurricular activities decreased as school size increased in most categories, particularly in the athletic, music, and class related areas.
8. Team sports, typically interscholastic, had appreciably more participants than individuals or intramural sports in both the high schools and middle level schools.
9. The frequency of meetings was similar in the high schools and middle level schools with activity categories typically meeting weekly or more frequently. Honors-related activities typically met monthly (Buser and Humm, 1980).

Students in small schools perceived a greater pressure to participate and achieve success in activities. These adolescents reported they felt needed and challenged. They often felt an obligation to be involved, and many times participated in more than one school activity ranging from athletics to service-related organizations, to music and other clubs (Gaspard and Burnett, 1991). Because of their smaller number, students had greater feelings of alienation when they did not participate in such activities.

Non-Participants and Being At Risk

When a reformed juvenile delinquent was involved in a community service program, he later said, "Nobody ever treated me like I had anything to give—just to take. So that's all I ever did—take." It was so simple. We must be taught that we have something to give. This is the essence of youth participation—the action whereby youth learn to give (Cutler, 1989).

Reasons for Nonparticipation in Cocurricular Activities

In order, from most frequently given reason to the least frequently given reason:

1. Not interested
2. Have to work after school
3. Transportation problems
4. Could not participate in the area of my choice
5. Cannot pay the required fees
6. Others were:
   a. cocurricular activities were not available at my school
   b. medical problems
   c. already active in community recreation programs

Sixty-four percent of the respondents were either not interested, had to work after school, or had transportation problems (Self, 1985). According to recent research, there is a definite link between cocurricular participation and high school success (Biernat and Klesse, 1989). In the 1989 monograph, *The Third Curriculum: Student Activities*, studies are cited that show a definite link between cocurricular participation and high school success. Studies consistently show that students who leave school prior to graduation are students who are unlikely to participate in student activities. Further, research also shows a low level of participation in student activities to be a characteristic of the at-risk student.

Of the top eight characteristics associated with at-risk students, (cited by five of six sources) five are school related: poor academics, dislike of school, high grade retention, low participation in cocurricular activities, and discipline problems (Self, 1985). Although the degree of the role of the school is debated, we can safely conclude that the school is a contributing factor in the "at-riskness" of the student.

Ross (1983) presents a profile of an at-risk student listing these characteristics:

1. a record of truancy or excessive absences
2. a low level of identification with or participation in school activities
3. low or failing grades in two or more academic classes
4. difficulty in communicating with teachers or other students.

How do at-risk students view the school? These characteristics are noted by those students:

1. feelings of not belonging
2. being a loner
3. rejection of school and self
4. insecure in school status
5. feeling that they have less respect than other students
6. feel teachers are not interested in them
7. low self-esteem
8. little desire for self-growth/improvement
9. Finally, when success in school no longer seems likely, removing oneself from the setting seems reasonably compelling. (Self, 1985)

Putting the observable characteristics noted by Ross next to the emotional precursors of these noted behaviors, a connection becomes apparent.

At-Risk Students Feel: (Self, 1985)	**These Characteristics are Observed in At-Risk Students** (Ross, 1983)
1. They don't belong	• Record of truancy or excessive absences • Low level of identification or participation in school activities
2. Like loners	• Low level of identification with or participation in school activities • Difficulty in communicating with teachers and other students.
3. Like rejecting school *by* self	• Record of truancy or excessive absences • Low level of identification with or participation in school activities • Low or failing grades
4. Insecure in school status	• Difficulty in communicating with teachers and other students
5. They are granted less respect (than other peers)	• Difficulty in communicating with teachers and other students • Low level of identification with or participation in school activities

6. Their teachers don't care	• Record of truancy or excessive absences • Low or failing grades
7. They are not worth much	• Difficulty in communicating with teachers and other students
8. Little desire to grow or risk	• Low level of identification with or participation in school activities
9. Like giving up	• Low or failing grades

Glasser stresses that at-risk students do not have positive pictures of school or learning and until they do, they will not feel a sense of connectedness to the school. Therefore, we must structure the school environment so that student's basic needs are met (Greene and Uroff, 1989).

Many at-risk students do not have the support outside school to meet their basic needs. Their home is unstable, possibly due to low socioeconomic status, or a single parent household, or conditions within the household, such as unemployment, abuse, or alcoholism. Positive role models are often unavailable and life is a constantly challenging experience, void of security or fun. Self (1985) reports that the at-risk student often looks to the school for guidance, for help, in essence, for the fulfillment of his or her basic needs.

Student activities can be a change agent within the school to decrease the sense of alienation at-risk students feel. Calabrese (1989) describes solutions to the problem of unacceptable levels of alienation felt by the at-risk student. One of the solutions he suggests is the concept of bonding. Bonding is the process of uniting one person or group with another. He believes the school must encourage bonding, and, in a sense, become responsible for each of its constituencies. If some adolescents (at-risk students) are not encouraged to engage in healthy, meaningful activities with other adolescents, their sense of bonding is with music, drugs, alcohol, and other activities outside the realm of legitimate student activities.

In a related study of migrant students, the findings suggested that the number of migrant students graduating from high school was positively associated with the following factors: student participation in cocurricular activities; affective student measures (such as positive

student attitudes toward education); bilingual instruction; Hispanic staff; and parental support for education and home-school relations. The educational prospects for migrant students could be improved by undertaking such strategies as increasing parental involvement, improving staff training, setting up a student monitoring system, providing counseling, tutoring, and homework assistance, and encouraging cocurricular activity involvement ("Migrant Education Dropout Prevention Project—Final Report," 1989). The more positive attitudes that a student has about school and him/herself, the more it is likely that he or she will perform better on student outcome measures. Parental support for education also affects student involvement in cocurricular activities. Parents who strongly support their children's education also provide support for their children to participate in cocurricular activities.

Community Service/Volunteerism

Several schools around the country have already made learning through service an integral part of the regular school curriculum. A recent survey reported that 61 percent of 12 to 17-year-olds volunteered an average of 3.2 hours per week in 1991 ("What You Can Do for Your Country," 1993). Four examples of youth service programs are:

1. Youth service can build a community—when young people from different racial, ethnic, economic, and educational circumstances work together in close quarters, they come to trust each other and depend on each other.

2. Youth service can build up the young people themselves—when young people engage in community service, they become valued, competent resources, rather than clients of schools, police, and other social institutions. They gain self-satisfaction and respect. This experience can transform who they are—in their own eyes, and in the eyes of others.

3. Youth service can build practical skills and disciplines—motivated by the value and challenge of the work and the obvious need to do it well, and by the appreciation of others, community service par-

ticipants learn skills and work habits that will be of great benefit to their future lives.

4. Youth service can inculcate a sense of civic responsibility—the young people come to appreciate the value of the community and the contribution they make to it, and they develop a lasting commitment to do their part, and do it well.

(What You Can Do for Your Country, 1991)

Youth service, whether full or part-time, can make a decisive difference in helping young people become self-confident members of society, productive workers, and valuable committed citizens. However, required volunteerism has not always been met with universal "open arms."

In 1990, the Bethlehem, Pa., public schools enacted a mandatory community service program requiring 60 hours of volunteer work to graduate from high school. Currently, there are 175 seniors at the district's two high schools who may not graduate next June because they have failed to enroll in the mandatory after-school community service program ("Required Volunteerism," Sept. 23, 1993). Whether such a compulsory program is constitutional is to be resolved. So far, Federal District and Appeals Courts have upheld the Bethlehem School District's requirement. In the Fall of 1993, the Supreme Court announced that it would not review the case (*New York Times*, April 21, 1994). Public schools in about two dozen states have compulsory programs like Bethlehem's. Maryland recently became the first state to require community service as a condition of graduation for all high school students. In court, opponents argue that this program, which gives students four years to complete the 60 hours, is modern day slavery, a violation of the 15th Amendment.

During the summer of 1993, the Senate passed a national service bill and sent it to the House, which has passed its own version. A three-year program is expected to be agreed upon. President Clinton has stated "National service will take on our nation's most pressing unmet needs while empowering a new generation to serve as leaders. National service is about enhanced educational opportunity and rebuilding the American community" (*New York Times*, August 3, 1993). The school program portion of the program is expected to involve as many as

750,000 school students in the first year. The following projects have been cited as examples:

- Sixth through eighth grade students studied polystyrene like-styrofoam and their environmental impact and then learned how to press city agencies to stop using the material because of the harmful effects.
- Middle school science students regularly measured pollutants in the Mill River in Springfield and reported them to environmental authorities.
- Elementary school children visited senior citizens and wrote letters to them.
- High school students worked with local businessmen in organizing litter pick-ups.

What Can Administrators Do?

Administrators as well as student leaders need assistance in learning how to work together to ensure the utmost productivity and success. "How To Work with Student Leaders To Meet School and Student Goals" (NASSP, 1987) provided a list of strategies. Student activities programs can provide many opportunities for student growth in communication, problem solving, decision making, and leadership. As they work with administrators to meet the goals of schools and individuals, student leaders enjoy the satisfaction of taking part in school policy making. At the same time, administrators receive valuable input from students and help them to sharpen their communication and decision-making skills.

Administrators should help students meet their individual and student group goals by using the following strategies:

1. Require student leaders to formulate and file with an administrator the goals and objectives of each group activity.
2. Train student leaders in group process techniques that encourage group members to become involved in decision making.
3. Help student leaders develop and adhere to program budgets.

4. Support requirements that membership in service organizations be based on demonstrated service to the school or community rather than on student popularity.
5. Encourage student leaders to arrange, plan, conduct, and participate in the evaluation of student programs such as assemblies, voter registration drives, and blood donation drives.
6. Provide opportunities for student leaders and activity sponsors to participate in regional, state, and national leadership growth programs.
7. Assist student leaders whose group's programs fall short of their purpose by working with them on improvements.

In "This We Believe," (1975) NASSP encompassed the key factors discussed throughout this document.

Student activities are a vital part of secondary education. The opportunities for students to organize and plan, to assume leadership roles, to gain recognition and identity, to experience self-governance, to recreate physically and emotionally, and to mature socially come, to a significant degree, from the student activities program. Observers have long argued that the participation of youth in various activities develops talents, maturity, and responsibility. The accomplishments of adults are significantly correlated to their "nonacademic" experiences as students in school. Thus, student activities are of extraordinary importance to the later and serious realm of adulthood.

The knowledge transmitted through academically oriented co-curricular activities reinforces academic courses. As purveyors of higher levels of school knowledge, these activities may lead to higher education, and then to higher status occupations. These organizations include foreign language, mathematics, history, and science clubs; journalism; and honor and debate societies. Similarly, career-oriented activities may complement the work of academic clubs. Such organizations include the Future Teachers of America, whose activity content has linkage to academic subjects, and pre-medical clubs, organized in direct conjunction with the mathematics and science curricula. These organizations and the early socialization of youth into the occupational world, providing knowledge and guidance about entry requirements, in addition to establishing some contacts with successful adults as role models in the field (Thomas & Morgan, 1991). Other activities stress

physical development and social skills related to obeying authority, conforming to group norms, working harmoniously with others, following directions, and being punctual. Norms embodied in sports or character training activities may enhance school spirit through the competition of athletics or the building of character and good citizenship through school service clubs. Currently, the cost of activity programs is a modest 1 percent to 2 percent of the total school budget (Chase, Jacobs, and Meredith, 1987).

Small Schools vs. Large Schools

Students in smaller high schools on the average participate in the cocurricular activities of their schools at a higher rate than do their counterparts in larger high schools. Especially noteworthy is the higher percentage of students in the larger schools who, relative to those in smaller schools, show no participation in any of the school's activities. The largest schools had about five times as many available cocurricular activities as the small schools. The large school offered a better environment for its students—more varied activities—but the evidence suggested that the average large school student does not utilize these opportunities. Although the small school does not provide such a wealth of activities, the average student has a better experience as measured by the amount of involvement in the available activities (Schoggen and Schoggen, 1988).

The data obtained in this study showed that students in smaller schools not only took part in more of the school's activities, but that these activities were more diverse than those utilized by students in larger schools. In short, the small school students participated in a wider variety of activities than did large school students. Thus, small school students experienced involvement in a wider variety of activities than did large school students, even though the total amount of available activities was larger in the big schools (Schoggen and Schoggen, 1988). Further analysis revealed that neither socioeconomic status of families (as reflected in the district per-pupil operating expenditures) nor average distance between home and school (as indicated by per-

pupil transportation costs for the school district contributed significantly to the variance in amount of participation when size of senior class was controlled. The smaller schools, with their relatively underpopulated activities, appear to encourage participation by many students; the students can see that their participation is needed for the successful operation of the activities. In order to stage a play with only 30 students in the class, a majority of the students must be involved as actors or in other capacities. However, the nationwide trend toward reducing the number of small schools through consolidation has been strong for 20 years, and is continuing.

Student Employment and Cocurricular Activities

The steady increase in student employment during the past generation reflects a re-ordering of priorities among adolescents, an effort to move their educational experiences more to the periphery of their lives. According to the most thorough study of labor force participation by adolescents, the proportion of employed males aged 16 to 19 enrolled in high school increased steadily from one-third in 1960 to nearly one-half by 1977 (Sedlak et al., 1986). A similar pattern is evident among young women: the proportion of employed females aged 16 to 17 enrolled in high school increased to 22.6 percent in 1960 to 39.1 percent in 1977, and the figures for females aged 18–19 indicate that the proportion employed grew from 27.9 percent to 45.6 percent during the same period. For many students, participation in the labor force is time-consuming: according to one national survey, more than half of all employed high school seniors and nearly one-fourth of all employed sophomores work more than 20 hours a week (Lamborn et al., 1992). The emerging consensus among researchers is that the negative effects of employment are linked to how much, not whether, a student works. Studies that examine weekly hours of employment generally find an important drop in school performance at around 20 hours per week.

Because the national average for time spent on homework is less than four hours per week, it is unlikely employment, in whatever

amount, will markedly diminish a young person's already modest involvement in homework. However, longer hours of work during the school year were clearly associated with diminished school performance and lowered school involvement. Students who worked more hours each week earned lower grades, spent less time on homework, paid attention in class less often, exerted less effort in school, were less involved in cocurricular activities, and reported higher levels of mind-wandering in class, more school misconduct, and more frequent class-cutting (Lamborn et al., 1992). Furthermore, students' work today is more systematic and institutionalized than that of their counterparts in 1960. A generation ago, most of those high school students who were employed ordinarily worked as casual laborers. They babysat, mowed lawns, delivered newspapers, helped neighbors clean garages and basements, waited tables, performed odd jobs, and occasionally pumped gasoline. Older high school students today work principally in retail sales: in food service or as clerks in department or clothing stores. In addition, many young women, particularly those enrolled in business programs, are employed in clerical and stenographic positions. Most students in all cocurricular programs are employed, with college-preparatory students working only slightly less than adolescents enrolled in vocational and business programs (Sedlak et al., 1986).

The impact on secondary education is twofold. First, a large percentage of upperclassmen, particularly seniors, leave campus as early as possible in the day to work. There are, as a result, proportionately fewer upper-class students remaining on campus who are willing and able to subscribe to advanced, rigorous, in-depth classes. Second, and more important, institutional expectations are lowered and teaching methods are adjusted to accommodate student employment and the priorities for the investment of time and energy that substantial work commitment implies. Inevitably, expectations for academic performance are lowered when classrooms accommodate increasing student employment. It is further evident that cocurricular activities, including sports and social events, assemblies, and dramatic and musical productions, all consume time, effort, and resources that otherwise might be devoted to improving achievement in academic classes. Approximately half of the high school population currently participates regularly in cocurricular activities. A minority of students are deeply in-

volved with perhaps 5 or 10 major activities that consume hundreds of hours during the course of an academic year. Most of these hours are spent in activities that are organized after school or on the weekends. During the 1970s, it became common for cocurricular activities to find their way into the school day; some schools even began to award graduation credit for participation. Not all adolescents are involved in cocurricular activites, however. Since the late 1960s, relatively fewer high school students have participated in such activities, at least to such a degree. They prefer instead to work for wages in the afternoon, or to spend time with their friends away from school (Sedlak et al., 1986). Like the pattern of increasing labor market participation by high school students since the early 1960s, this parallel movement away from deep engagement in cocurricular activities reflects a shift in the place of the entire high school experience in the lives of adolescents. Over the preceding decade there seem to be both a departure from school-based activities and a more central role of work among seniors. It is also virtually impossible to determine the actual level of a student's engagement with cocurricular activities, to measure whether or not he or she is meaningfully participating. However, nationwide, approximately half of students participated in cocurricular activities. The influences of participation in cocurricular activities and part-time jobs are sometimes difficult to predict. On the one hand, they may be so engaging or time-consuming or exhausting that students have little inclination, time, or energy to study. On the other hand, contact with adults, eligibility requirements, or glimpses of future career possibilities may motivate students to work more diligently in school (Brown and Steinberg, 1991).

Athletics

The Minnesota High School League found that students who participate in cocurricular activities generally have better grade averages and attendance records than students who do not participate in the activities. The survey, based on responses from 305 of the league's 500 member schools, found that the grade-point average for all students in

the 1982–83 school year stood at 2.68, which is about a C+. Student athletes as a group, however, averaged 2.84, which put them in the B− category. Students participating in fine arts—drama, speech, debate, or music—averaged 2.98, or about a B (*Education Week*, 1984).

The attendance report showed that the absentee rate for all students was 8.76 days for the 1982–83 school year, compared with 7.44 for student athletes, and 6.94 for participants in other league-sanctioned activities.

Similarly, Slotz (1984) supported these findings in a recent survey of grades given to roughly 24,000 students. His data agreed with the results of most past research. In his study, the 1,550 students who participated on organized athletic teams during the 1982–83 school year achieved an average GPA of 2.67 on a 4-point scale (roughly B−), while the 4,553 non-participating students averaged a 2.12 (about a C). The difference between the two groups of students from the three district high schools is statistically significant at a very high level of confidence.

Slotz's paper also examined two aspects of student-athlete participation and achievement that have not received much attention in previous studies. The first deals with eligibility criteria and their effects on participation, the second with the way participation actually affects a student's grades. A student is ruled ineligible to compete if he or she fails two or more courses during a term or if his or her GPA is below 1.0 (D).

During the 1982–83 season, 150 student-athletes in the district failed two or more school subjects, roughly 10 percent, and were ruled ineligible based upon this criterion alone. It is noteworthy that the majority of students receiving two or more F's were younger students in lower grades (freshmen, sophomores). The second criterion for eligibility (maintenance of at least a D average by student athletes) was attained by 99 percent of the student-athletes in this same district during the 1982–83 school year. No juniors or seniors on athletic teams had earned less than a D average, and only 20 freshmen and sophomores did so.

What effect would raising the minimum average from D to C, as is being recommended by some, have on a participant's eligibility? In this district, a total of 285 student-athletes earned cumulative GPAs of

less than 2.0 during the 1982–83 school year. That number constitutes roughly 18 percent of all students participating in interscholastic sports. It is important to note that 45 percent of those students having GPAs below 2.0 were freshmen and 27 percent were sophomores.

A different, but related question concerns the way active competition influences grades. Specifically, do student-athletes' grades drop during competition, as compared to their work during the "off-season"? Academic records available for athletes in this district during the 1982–83 school year revealed that more failing grades (Fs) were received when *not* participating on a team than when actively competing. In short, participation in sports, per se, does not adversely affect a student's academic work during the competitive season. In fact, the opposite is true.

Students fail proportionately fewer times when actually competing than during the "off-season."

The following three conclusions should be noted:

1. Participants in interscholastic sports, in this district, achieve higher academic averages than non-participating students.
2. If academic eligibility requirements were raised, large numbers of students would likely continue to be eligible to participate.
3. Students seem to do better academic work during terms when they are actually competing in sports than when they are not.

Nearly 1.5 million high school juniors and seniors play basketball or football. The NFL and the NBA recruit approximately 150 new players per year. The odds of any one of today's high school athletes making it into professional sports at the top level are a staggering 1 in 10,000. Fewer than 3,500 people in the United States earn a living playing professional sports (Haynes, 1990). However, although intangible in terms of empirical information, most educators as well as critics readily admit that athletic participation helps develop basic values such as self-respect, self-esteem, self-confidence, and competitive spirit. Participants also learn the value of teamwork and experience how to win and how to lose (Durbin, 1986). If we accept the athletic experience as cocurricular rather than an extracurricular reward, permitting participation only for the high academic achievers would deny some students access to this valid educational opportunity. Participation in student activity programs is an integral component of the overall

educational experience for all students, and not just for those whose grades average above a C or for those who pass all their courses (Camp, 1990). High school activities do comprise "the other half of education" for students.

Some studies have found a generally positive direct effect of co-curricular activities participation on academic achievement, when other influential variables are controlled (Howley and Huang, 1991). Participation also has a positive effect on student outcomes. Studies of athletics and aspirations generally tend to show that athletic participation has a positive effect on educational aspirations and attainment. Athletics is the easiest route into the school leadership groups for high school boys. The leadership group, in turn, has higher educational aspirations and a greater likelihood of attending college. Athletics surround a young person with peers who are more likely to be college oriented. Studies have found that this peer association—the desire and plans of friends to attend college—is the biggest reason that athletes have higher educational aspirations than nonathletes. A study published by Otto and Alwin looked at the student's occupational aspirations, occupational attainment, and income at age 32 (Cutright, 1983). Again the study found that athletic participation has a positive effect on these three areas—specifically, that 15 years after high school the athletes had higher career aspirations, better jobs, and higher income than nonathletes.

By collecting adolescents into large groups, schools provide a major structural context for peer group interaction during adolescence. Through the pattern of cocurricular activities schools allow or disallow, facilitate or inhibit, and the pattern of tangible and intangible rewards provided for participation in activities, schools influence personality development and socialization. For boys, across all categories of activities (athletics, clubs, music, other) at a predominantly black high school, a significant positive relationship existed between cocurricular participation and self-esteem scores. No significant relationship was found for girls (Holland and Andre, 1987). When categories of activities were considered separately, participation in music related positively to self-esteem for both sexes. Male first-string athletes had higher average self-esteem than second-string athletes and non-athletes. The school had particularly popular band activities which led the researcher to

conclude that activities that led to publicity were more likely to increase self-esteem scores (Holland and Andre, 1987).

Participation in cocurricular activities, particularly interscholastic athletics, is more likely to enhance than interfere with high school students' academic aspirations or achievement. However, when background characteristics that differentiate participants from nonparticipants are taken into account, the influence of cocurricular activities is modest (Steinberg et al., 1988). The effects of athletic participation appear to be strongest among students with the least promising backgrounds for academic success. Some recent studies have found questionable the "academic advantage" enjoyed by athletes. A 1986 study found athletes' GPA to be nonsignificantly higher than nonathletes, although the athletic group did score higher on a measure of self-concept (Schumaker, Small, and Wood, 1986). It is also difficult to treat athletics as a single, undifferentiated category in the analyses of cocurricular influences on achievement patterns. Effects are conditional, varying among demographic groups (race or SES) as well as among cocurricular categories (athletic vs. service) activities.

All cocurricular participants may reap academic benefits simply from their increased exposure to school adults. Researchers have speculated that because participants have greater visibility, they may receive more academic assistance or encouragement toward higher education from school staff (Steinberg et al., 1988). Other data have indicated that all high school athletes do not receive the same level of teacher encouragement. Snyder (1975) reported a small but significant positive association between how definite players were about attending college and the amount of advice about college they received from coaches. Whereas students from lower SES backgrounds were nearly as likely to name coaches as a parent as the most influential person in formulating their educational plans, coaches finished a distant third (to father and mother) among higher SES students. However, players classified as starters, or especially standouts, reported that coaches discussed and encouraged college attendance significantly more often than "substitutes" did—but this difference applied only to seniors.

Athletic participation enhances students' status among peers. It appears that athletes, as well as those in other prominent activities, strive to prolong their stature through achievement in the chief status

arena of young adulthood, educational attainment. Thus, peer status obtained through cocurricular participation fosters higher educational aspirations, and ultimately, higher educational attainment (Steinberg et al., 1988).

Educational attainment levels are higher among students involved in service (nonathletic) activities than among those in sports only. In addition, students involved in cocurricular activities are exposed to a more academically oriented peer group that, by example or pressure, encourage higher achievement and aspirations among all participants. Being involved in a more academically oriented peer group is the primary way in which athletic participation enhances educational expectations or attainment levels.

Measures of cocurricular participation must move beyond dichotomizing people as involved or not involved to considering such factors as number of hours spent in activities, the degree of personal investment in the activity, the amount of personal gratification derived from the activity, etc. Studies also need to incorporate into their design the full range of background characteristics that have been shown to mediate the influence of cocurricular activities. To date, attention has been directed exclusively toward positive influences, ignoring the real possibility that, at least for some students in some activities under some circumstances, the demands of participation, the norms of the participant peer group, the expectations of peers or teachers, and the students' preoccupation with succeeding in the activity may either discourage achievement efforts or put undesirable limits on them (Steinberg et al., 1988).

Finally, a number of school districts have recently begun experimenting with enforcing minimum grade point averages and attendance rates for determining eligibility for athletics and other cocurricular activities. Whenever such efforts have undermined successful athletic teams or other popular school productions, the regulations have been either dismantled, rescinded, or circumvented (Sedlak et al., 1986). The state of Texas has proven to be the exception with its "No pass no play" rule. Under these conditions, every student does not have the opportunity to belong, to participate in an activity that has meaning for that individual. This truly puts the potential dropout at odds with the school.

Parents and Peers

Students achieve more in school when significant others around them, in and outside school, adults as well as peers, value achievement. Students also achieve more in school when those around them, especially adults, are actively involved in behaviors that lead to academic success. These behaviors include, among others, monitoring of academic progress, supervision of academic and nonacademic behavior, involvement in schools as an institution, and encouragement of higher levels of achievement. These behaviors are more effective when they occur in the context of an authoritative relationship characterized by warmth and demandingness on the part of the adult (Steinberg et al., 1988). In general, parent actions (monitoring, involvement in school, parenting styles) had more impact on student achievement levels than their values or expectations. As for peer influence, most students reported that their friends encouraged achievement—at least to a moderate degree. In fact, most students indicated that their friends regarded finishing high school as significantly more important than partying or spending time with friends or being involved in cocurricular activities (Brown and Steinberg, 1991).

It is understandable that many parents feel alienated from high schools.

They may find themselves unable to comprehend the academic work their children are doing and unable to offer much assistance with homework. They may recall their own academic frustrations and failures in high school. They are also unfamiliar or uncomfortable with the "popular culture" (rock groups, grooming styles, teenage vernacular) that dominates the school. Therefore, many parents limit their contact with school or their efforts to monitor their child's academic progress.

To involve parents, high schools must redouble their efforts. Parents' attendance at cocurricular events is nearly as influential to their child's achievement patterns as their attendance at back-to-school nights or other academically oriented meetings (Brown and Steinberg, 1991).

High schools may increase parental involvement through greater empowerment of parent advisory councils or parent-teacher associa-

tions, greater reliance upon parent booster clubs for cocurricular activities, wider use of parents as chaperones and sponsors for social events, etc.

Consistent with other studies showing that parental involvement in schooling improves academic achievement, a study by Lamborn and others (1992) found that students whose parents are highly involved in schooling, compared with students whose parents are only modestly involved, have higher scores on all the positive academic outcomes.

Peers play a central role in the social lives of adolescents. Over the years, adolescents spend increasing amounts of time with peers in activities that are unsupervised by adults. Teenagers are particularly susceptible to the influence of their peers during middle adolescence. As individuals move from childhood into adolescence, they move into a more complex and differentiated social system in which peers are partitioned into a set of peer groups, or "crowds" that vary considerably in normative values, orientations, and behaviors (Lamborn et al., 1992). Peer influences are filtered through adolescents' membership in one of these crowds. Crowds are the large groups of students, familiar to most of us, that define the broad social organization of most high schools: jocks, preppies, druggies, brains, and so forth. In general, regardless of crowd membership, the more time spent with peers, the lower are academic outcomes. Obviously, adolescents who spend more time partying and hanging out with peers are less engaged in their schoolwork. A dramatic exception to this profile of negative peer influences occurred among the brains. For students in the brain crowd, time with peers was associated with several aspects of positive school performance. Time spent hanging out with friends was related to higher academic engagement and grade point average. For brains, part of the time hanging out with friends included such academic activities as helping each other with homework and studying (Lamborn et al., 1992). In summary, adolescent crowd membership is associated with differences in academic outcomes, although we do not know the extent to which these academic outcome differences predated crowd membership. Peer support, highest among students involved in leadership activities and lowest for those participating in a glory sport, was associated with students' level of engagement, grade point average, and time devoted to homework.

It is difficult to predict the effects of cocurricular participation. On the one hand, they could support academic accomplishment in a number of ways. They might give students a sense of bonding to the school that indirectly increases their commitment to academics. Co-curricular participation may expose students to more academically oriented peer groups who encourage achievement. On the other hand, gaining competence in cocurricular pursuits may negate the need to work hard on academic material. A student who develops a reputation as a great actor may feel little need to excel in the classroom (Lamborn et al., 1992).

Leadership and Student Activities

After the examination of the importance of student activities, the issue of student leadership and its correlation to student activities should be addressed. Indeed, what are the characteristics of student leaders? Hynes, Richardson, and Asher (1979) reported on such characteristics. Their study investigated 13 predictors of self-reported high school leadership. The leadership characteristics of males and females were found to be similar. Results of this study characterized the high school leader as mature, interested in business management, self-confident, socially sensitive, vigorous, and having high socioeconomic status. Cognitive values were not found to be significant predictors of leadership. The sample for this study consisted of a sample of Project TALENT participants—namely, those students who were high school seniors in 1960 and who are members of the 4 percent sample of participants for whom complete item response data have been retained. In all, there were 2,923 students included in this study.

The effects of leadership or the lack of it was brought to issue by Zanella (1979). Student leadership is an essential part of the secondary school environment. However, despite the best efforts of principals and teachers everywhere, many students today are shunning leadership and its inherent responsibilities. A variety of reasons cause students to avoid leadership responsibilities, including peer pressure against aspiring student leaders, the numerous popular recreational activities that need

no student leadership, and the decreasing leadership demands placed on students by our schools and society in general.

The indirect effect of diminishing student leadership is long-lasting and will plague our society for years to come. If our schools do not serve as a staging and developmental area for leadership qualities, the future will be served by less qualified and more poorly prepared individuals who take longer to assume leadership and who cannot cope well with societal problems. There are strong, hard-working student leaders in our schools today, but they are not numerous. School officials must continue to support these individuals while working to enlarge their number.

The need for leadership training is apparent and the responsibility for it lies with the schools. A case for such training was made by Emmerich (1983). Today's high school students are becoming more and more responsible, both individually and collectively. Not only do they perform leadership tasks in clubs and student government, but they are also capable of assuming leadership roles in conjunction with the faculty and administration. In Emmerich's article, the leadership training program developed for both elementary and secondary students had four priority skill areas: self-assessment, communication, organization and planning, and decision making.

Benefits of the training sessions have been far-reaching. Not only did trainers expand their social circles across cultural and economic levels, but they also developed resource networks among their peers. While learning practical leadership techniques, they also experienced positive relationships with adult leaders that gave them greater self-esteem and encouraged them to use their ideas in the future.

How can a school reduce the time students are out of class for cocurricular clubs and activities and also increase overall student participation in the activities? Allentown (N.J.) High School created a Student Activity Tutorial Period (ATP) during the school day. ATP meets once a week for eight weeks each fall, winter, and spring. Three times a year, students select an activity from a list of more than 40 clubs and activities. The list includes tutoring, academic challenges, sports, arts and crafts, music, theater arts, and political activities (NASSP, 1991). The program encourages students to start their own activities if they cannot find one that they like. Students follow established guidelines

by completing a student proposal describing the types of activities they would have in each of eight meetings, getting a list of 15 interested students, and, if possible, identifying two teachers who might share the interest or be willing to sponsor/monitor the activity. Allentown High School has found that ATP minimizes disruption to classes, increases student participation and responsibility, and fosters academic success. All these factors increase student success, academically and socially. Finally, a study by researchers from the Educational Testing Service found that persistence and leadership in cocurricular activities were better predictors of success in college than SAT scores (*New York Times*, June 9, 1993).

Cost

Cocurricular activities comprise roughly 1 percent to 2 percent of the total school budget. Principal reports in a 1987 study (Chase, Jacobs, and Meredith, 1987) indicated that "high" activities spending schools had a larger number of teachers, a larger total expenditure for all operations and for cocurricular activities, more males in academic/class-related activities, and had more of both sexes in performance/classroom activities. There were no differences in discipline referrals or suspensions, no grade point average differences, no differences in requirements for participation in activities, or in how the faculty was involved in managing the activities. The expenditure for the cocurricular activity program for a school was divided by the total expenditure for the school's operation. The resulting proportion provided the relative expenditure of school funds for activities. Principals in low SES-low expenditure and high SES-high expenditure schools felt that parents and the community were slightly less supportive of activities than did principals in other schools. However, principals in all schools tended to believe support for cocurricular activities was positive.

The results of this study suggest that the high spending schools have more students in honor societies and student government. One of the features of cocurricular activities that militates against finding differences between high and low spending schools is the fact that some

of the big participation activities are limited in numbers, regardless of the dollars available to support them. Athletic teams will have essentially the same number of members regardless of expenditures. There are only so many seats in the student council, and so many cheerleaders at a given school. These kinds of activities do not seem to respond to dollar expenditure by expansion in student participation (Chase, Jacobs, and Meredith, 1987). On the other hand, academic clubs, drama, debate, and musical groups may well expand with added expenditure simply because they typically do not have number limits on participation.

The proportion of school funds spent on cocurricular activities, overall, appears to make little impact on school discipline problems or the ability to retain students in school. This is probably related to the fact that expenditure appears to promote the kinds of activities that dropouts and students who are discipline problems are not interested in. For example, it is unlikely that these students will seek out drama or debate, or will be interested in activities that lead to membership in honors groups (Chase, Jacobs, and Meredith, 1987). Additional funds put into the cocurricular programs do not have a major impact on school routines, image, or attitudes of school personnel. It does increase participation in some cocurricular activities, but in those that are relatively low in visibility in most systems.

Future Research

In the future, research on cocurricular activities needs to concentrate on how cocurricular participation enhances or impedes specified desirable outcomes, not simply to compare participants' and nonparticipants' scores on some outcome variables (Brown, 1988). Also, sensible categories of cocurricular activities need to be developed. Many studies use two broad categories—"sports" and "everything else," but there is evidence that all activities are not equal, either in their appeal to or influence on students (Steinberg et al., 1988). The continuing neglect of gender, race, and developmental differences—let alone differences in academic or cocurricular abilities and interests—in examining pro-

cesses of cocurricular influence must be overcome. Finally, Brown (1988) reports that researchers must begin to examine cocurricular activities within the context of the many other individuals or institutions that influence secondary students' lives (Steinberg et al., 1988). As socializing agents, cocurricular activities must compete with concerns over peer status, the pressures and priorities of friends, parental expectations, encouragement from teachers, and so on.

Most researchers report that cocurricular participants do better in school than nonparticipants, but most of the differences seem to be a function of academic talent and motivation that predate participation. That is, students who go out for activities tend to be more academically prepared and motivated than those who do not (Lamborn et al., 1992). Researchers have not determined whether students' academic progress in school is affected by some activities more than others or by the number or diversity of activities in which students participate. A serious methodological problem of research on participation involves the self-selection of students into participant and nonparticipant categories (Holland and Andre, 1987). Self-selection is a necessary condition of these studies; by its very nature participation in cocurricular activities is voluntary.

The danger of self-selection is that pre-existing differences between groups of students who choose or do not choose to participate, rather than the influence of participation, may account for observed differences between participation and nonparticipation groups. In fact, pre-existing differences may lead some students to participate in a given activity and other students to avoid participating in that activity, hopelessly confounding effects of pre-existing differences and participation. Variables that have been shown to interact with participation and outcome measures include family SES, community values, student ability, school size, nature of cocurricular activity, self-esteem, self-perceived peer status, and significant other influences. The social system of a particular community—the activities it values, the role high school activities play in the community, the values parents communicate to children, the community support provided for high school, the range of opportunities provided for adolescents in the community—serves to define the roles, functions, values, and rewards provided for participation (Holland and Andre, 1987). High schools and the opportunities

they provide for adolescents have meaning only as defined both by the social characteristics of communities in which they exist and by the specific characteristics of the high schools themselves.

A number of additional methodological weaknesses are apparent in current research on cocurricular participation. Typically, the length, type of, and success achieved in activity participation have not been clearly assessed or defined in many studies. Participation in a social activity or athletic team has been assumed to produce the same relationships for all individuals involved. Studies that have differentiated types of activities and success levels have demonstrated that different types or levels of participation lead to different effects (Holland and Andre, 1987). Research in this area is needed to describe types of activities and to assess the level and process of involvement more adequately.

In summary, it is clear that participation in cocurricular activities relates to a number of desirable characteristics, for example: self-esteem, educational aspirations, feelings of control, and lower levels of alienation. One clear need is for research that systematically examines the relationships of participation in different types of activities. Other questions concern the different levels of involvement and success in an activity that the star, starter, and the substitute experience. Are there "critical periods" during which participation has effects? Additional research will begin to address these questions and others in the future (Holland and Andre, 1987). What is clear today is that, on the average, participants devoted approximately seven and a half hours per week to cocurricular activities, although 5 percent logged as many as 20 hours a week or more. These students fared well academically, spent more time on homework, and expected to go further in school.

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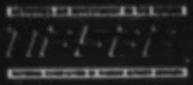

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